

## Message Text

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71

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
----- 077058

R 101241Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2098

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SOFIA 2606

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, BU, US

SUBJECT: APPOINTMENT WITH MLADENOV REGARDING CSCE

REF: A) SOFIA 2499

B) SOFIA 2811 (1975)

C) STATE 286655

D) SOFIA 2146

E) SOFIA 2574

F) SOFIA 2675 (1975)

G) SOFIA 1669

H) SOFIA 2201

1. AS REPORTED REF A, EXPECT TO SEE FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV SOMETIME BETWEEN DEC. 18 AND 25 TO DISCUSS CSCE MATTERS, AS WE DID IN DECEMBER 1975 (REF B). TONE AND APPROACH WILL BE "CLINICAL" AND NON-CONTENTIOUS, BUT SINCE EACH SIDE WILL OBVIOUSLY TRY TO TEST THE OTHER'S REACTIONS WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON A FEW POINTS OF DETAIL IN PARA 3.

2. PLACING MY APPROACH WITHIN GUIDANCE SET OUT REF C, I ANTICIPATE RAISING FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. WE WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH  
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BULGARIA IN ADVANCE OF BELGRADE 77, CONSISTENT WITH DESIRE

OF BOTH COUNTRIES THAT MEETING RESULT IN CAREFUL  
CONSIDERATION OF CONCRETE RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION BY THE  
SIGNATORIES.

B. WE REGARD THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT AS A SINGLE ENTITY  
AND DO NOT LOOK FOR SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON ANY ONE PART OF  
IT, CONSIDERING ALL PARTS EQUALLY IMPORTANT. WE UNDERSTAND  
THIS IS BULGARIAN POSITION ALSO. AT SAME TIME IT MUST  
BE RECOGNIZED THAT THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH CAN EASILY BE  
OBSERVED AS BEING OR NOT BEING IMPLEMENTED WILL OBVIOUSLY  
ATTRACT THE MOST ATTENTION AND COMMENT, INCLUDING THAT OF  
US CONGRESS AND PUBLIC.

C. IF BULGARIANS HAVE ANY OBSERVATIONS ABOUT HOW  
PROCEDURES WITH RESPECT TO CBM'S CAN BE IMPROVED, WE WOULD  
LIKE TO HEAR THEM. ON OUR SIDE WE PERCEIVE SOME SHORT-  
COMINGS WHICH WE REGARD AS PRIMARILY TECHNICAL, AND  
BELIEVE PROCEDURAL IMPROVEMENTS COULD BE AGREED UPON  
GIVEN WILLINGNESS OF BOTH SIDES TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES  
OF THE FINAL ACT.

D. US WELCOMES INCREASE IN COMMERCE BETWEEN TWO  
COUNTRIES SINCE HELSINKI, WHICH WHILE NOT A CLEAR RESULT  
OF AGREEMENT IS CERTAINLY CONSISTENT WITH IT. WE ALSO  
WELCOME SCHEDULING OF NEXT MEETING OF JOINT BULGARIAN/US  
ECONOMIC COUNCIL IN SPRING 1977. ON OTHER HAND PROGRESS  
IN COMMERCIAL SPHERE IS STILL HAMPERED BY BULGARIAN  
POLICY REGARDING PUBLICATION AND AVAILABILITY OF  
ECONOMIC DATA (DRAWING UPON REFS D AND E).

E. BUSINESS CONTACTS: AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN STILL  
FIND DIFFICULTY OR LACK OF ACCESS TO END-USERS AND  
CUMBERSOME APPOINTMENT-MAKING PROCESS (EMBASSY BEING  
REQUIRED TO REQUEST FAR IN ADVANCE BY DIPLOMATIC NOTE)  
A DISTINCT BARRIER TO EXPANSION OF CONTACTS IN FOREIGN  
TRADE.

F. INFORMATION: DESPITE MLADENOV'S ASSURANCES TO  
ME OF A YEAR AGO (REF B) REGARDING AVAILABILITY OF  
FOREIGN NONCOMMUNIST NEWSPAPERS IN SOFIA, THERE STILL  
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AREN'T ANY ONE YEAR LATER. IN ADDITION BULGARIA STILL  
ENGAGES IN JAMMING, AND OUR READING ROOM REMAINS  
TOTALLY EMPTY OF BULGARIANS.

G. US FINDS PROGRESS ON DIVIDED FAMILIES CASES AN  
ENCOURAGING ASPECT OF US/BULGARIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS  
AND ALSO CONSISTENT WITH HELSINKI PRINCIPLES. AS FEW  
NEW CASES COME TO OUR ATTENTION WE WILL CONTINUE TO CALL

THESE TO ATTENTION GOB, WHICH (IN PRES. ZHIVKOV'S STATEMENTS TO INGERSOLL AND BUTZ) STATED ITS INTENTION OF SETTLING THIS PROBLEM.

H. IN LIGHT OF MLADENOV'S INITIAL ENCOURAGING REACTION (REF F), WE HAD LOOKED FORWARD TO QUICKER ELIMINATION OF RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL OF DIPLOMATS WHICH WE HAD FORMALLY PROPOSED IN FEBRUARY 1976. NOTHING HAS MOVED, HOWEVER, SINCE OCTOBER WHEN US FURNISHED DESIRED EXPLANATIONS TO GOB. I WOULD MENTION IN ACCORDANCE REF C THAT ELIMINATION OF CLOSED ZONES AND DESIGNATED POINTS OF ENTRY HAS NOW BEEN ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH US ARRANGEMENTS WITH ALL EE COUNTRIES EXCEPT BULGARIA (AND WE ASSUME ALBANIA).

3. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS OR DEBATING POINTS THAT CAN BE ANTICIPATED FROM MLADENOV, AND WHICH IF DEPT. AGREES WE PROPOSE TO HANDLE AS FOLLOWS:

A. MFN. ON THIS ONE I WOULD ROLL WITH THE PUNCH, SAYING MATTER WILL NO DOUBT COME UNDER REVIEW BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS, AND THERE IS LITTLE PURPOSE DISCUSSING THIS IN SOFIA AS MLADENOV REALIZES THE DIFFICULTIES LIE ELSEWHERE.

B. CSCE COMMISSION. I WOULD USE ARGUMENTATION IN REFS A AND G ADDING THAT CHAIRMAN FASCELL HAS MEANWHILE ISSUED A STATEMENT IN WASHINGTON WHICH SHOWS HOW USEFUL IT WOULD HAVE BEEN FOR COUNTRIES LIKE BULGARIA TO HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS CSCE IMPLEMENTATION -- NOT ONLY THEIR OWN BUT ALSO OURS -- WITH MEMBERS WHO HAD BEEN WILLING TO COME HERE.

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C. VISA-FREE REGIME. MLADENOV MAY REFER TO THE (EXPECTED) BULGARIAN COUNTERPLAY TO OUR PROPOSAL FOR REDUCTION OF FEES AS PER REF H. I WOULD SAY THAT THE FINAL ACT DOES NOT CALL FOR ELIMINATION OF VISAS BUT DOES CALL FOR REDUCTION OF OBSTACLES TO TRAVEL. BULGARIANS HAVE CLAIMED THAT OUR FEES (INCLUDING CHARGES FOR "INTERESTED PARTY" TELEGRAMS) EXCEED THEIRS. THIS IS SOMETHING WE COULD DISCUSS. WE FIND THAT THEIR ACTUAL CHARGES ARE CONSIDERABLY HIGHER THAN THEY APPEAR TO BE.

D. RFE. IF MLADENOV BRINGS THAT UP, I WOULD POINT TO LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT ON EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION OF ALL KINDS, REFER TO KISSINGER LETTER TO ABSHIRE, AND USE ARGUMENTATION REF C TO THE EFFECT THAT NOTHING IN THE FINAL ACT SUGGESTS GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL OVER RADIO

BROADCASTS, I.E. CONTROL OVER LISTENING TO BROADCASTS.

E. NO FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE LEARNED FROM CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, WHO HAS JUST DISCUSSED CSCE WITH MLADENOV, THAT LATTER RAISED THIS WITH HIM AND PRESSED FOR HIS "PERSONAL REACTION." IF DEPT. DESIRES, COULD INQUIRE WHETHER MLADENOV THINKS THIS IS SOMETHING THAT WILL BE BROUGHT UP AT BELGRADE.  
HERZ

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER MR. STEINER, S/S-O.

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NNN

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